OWEN LATTIMORE: WESTERN WAYS IN ASIA

THE Nation

July 11, 1953
20¢

49th And 50th States

G. O. P. BETRAYS A PLEDGE

by Ex-Governor Gruening of Alaska

The Kenyatta Case — *Peter Abrahams*

Order of Lenin (a Fable) — *Malcolm Logan*

Containment and Peace — *W. A. Williams*

EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

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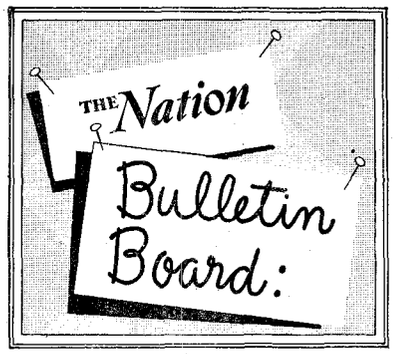
Letters



MAN who brings the mail around has been staggering under volume of communications to us on the fine Redlich-Frantz analysis of the Fifth Amendment controversy. (Does Silence Mean Guilt?, June 6, 1953.) Over 200 requests (from 33 states) for reprints have been received to date; total reprints sent out running close to 20,000. (See rates below.)

Nation-wide attention article received resulted in a temporary radio and TV career for co-author Norman Redlich. June 30 he debated McCarran Committee Counsel Robert Morris on ABC's "Town Meeting of The Air." Topic: "Is the Fifth Amendment Being Misused?" Ten days earlier he and Morris aired the same topic over WOR-TV's "America Speaks" forum.

A New York attorney, Redlich is retiring from the spotlight for the time being to devote himself to additional pieces for *The Nation*. If you want copies of the very interesting Town Hall debate you can write to "Town Meeting," 123 West 43d Street, New York.

You'll find next week's issue a real antidote for summer doldrums. There's a brilliant review by Professor Charles Alan Wright of the controversial book "The Strange Case of Alger Hiss," by the Earl Jowitt (see back cover for offer to *Nation* readers on the Hiss book). In addition, novelist Ira Wolfert contributes a fascinating study of the Hiss case.

Speaking of novelists: do you know what happens when a bright young American writer gets tapped by Hollywood? Nelson Algren (The Man with the Golden Arm) got tapped and the story is a hilarious one. He shares it with *Nation* readers in a coming issue. There will also be a second Algren piece on what's happening to intellectuals in America.

M. S.

[*Reprints of Does Silence Mean Guilt? are: 10 cents for single copies; $7.50 per 100; $25 for 500; $45 per thousand.*]

Instrument of Progress

Dear Sirs: Will you allow me to say that your last several issues, particularly those containing the serial-editorial The Present Danger, have been the best in my thirty-five years' reading of *The Nation*. Liberalism has become a by-word in many quarters. In your critical, rational, searching hands it has been turned into an instrument of enlightenment and progress.

I don't know how better to show my appreciation than by helping to increase *The Nation's* circulation. I inclose my check, for which please send subscriptions to the persons mentioned below. . . .

New York DAVID L. WEISSMAN

On the Rosenbergs

Dear Sirs: Something seems to have departed from my sense of dignity as a human being with the execution of the Rosenbergs. Prominent persons in government were disappointed that they did not confess, inform, and beg for mercy.

I am an engineer in a division highway office. Every single one of my associates is a professing Protestant or Roman Catholic. Nearly every one said that the Rosenbergs should have been tortured before they were executed. They all claim to be intelligent and educated. All of them say Senator McCarthy is doing good work. . . .

HAROLD G. MITCHELL

New Philadelphia, Ohio

Dear Sirs: The Nation was among the few with the courage to ask clemency for the Rosenbergs, and I am proud to be one of its readers. In this it showed a deeper concern for our country than those who sought their death. Not only Communists are appalled. Humanitarian opposition to the death penalty, the lighter sentence given the undoubted spies May and Fuchs, doubt of Greenglass's testimony and motives, contrast with the Czech pardon of Oatis, the haste with which the Supreme Court was rushed into extraordinary session—these things lead many to feel that, whether or not the conviction was well founded, the punishment was determined not by the merits of the case but in terms of the cold war.

Abroad this execution will be thrown in our faces for a long time to come. Here at home it shows how far the war orientation has triumphed; would two young parents have been denied clemency five years ago? As more and more factors pointed toward doubt and urged clemency, what sort of government was it that grew more insistent on death? Was it afraid to let them live? The official rationale that what Greenglass copied made possible the Korean war should be treated as an affront to intelligence; Urey's statement and Einstein's indorsement dismiss it. . . .

It was clear that the Rosenbergs could have escaped death by a confession. Even those who believe them guilty must admire their moral courage during two years in the deathhouse. . . .

DELL H. HYMES

Bloomington, Ind.

Dear Sirs: I have written the following letter to the Representatives of my state in Washington:

The mighty people and government of the United States have just destroyed with a current of electricity two personalities —two unique human beings whose exact likenesses will never again appear in the universe. Regardless of the rationale "justifying" such an unspeakable and irreversible procedure, the act of execution is unworthy of any society calling itself civilized or mature. . . . I am writing with the hope that you will consider legislation abolishing the barbaric practice of capital punishment.

ROBERT R. KOHN

Ann Arbor, Mich.

Ormandy's "Shenanigans"

Dear Sirs: I have just read Mr. Haggin's review of the Philadelphia Orchestra's last New York concert (May 23 issue). As an ex-member of the great Philadelphia Orchestra I can confirm Mr. Haggin's view that being a member of that organization under Mr. Ormandy is indeed miserable. It was a continually frustrating experience to be forced to play Bach, Brahms, and so on à la Ormandy.

I was pleased to note that there is one critic in this country who can see through the shenanigans of Mr. Ormandy, as did the critic of the London *Times* after our first concert in Royal Albert Hall. This critic, having nothing but praise for the orchestra itself, found it difficult to understand how a man such as Mr. Ormandy could be the conductor of so great an orchestra.

St. Louis, Mo. JOSEPH PEPPER

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THE Nation

EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

EDITORIALS

The Shape of Things

New Government, Old Problems

The new French Cabinet lost no time in making it clear that France's grave economic situation will require increased sacrifices by the French people. M. Faure, the new Finance Minister, has already asked for a billion-dollar loan from the Bank of France. The national budget shows a deficit this year of twenty-five billion francs. New sources of revenue can come only from indirect taxes, such as on gasoline and tobacco, which will prove neither popular nor sufficient. So long as the Indo-China war continues its great drain on France's resources, there is no way out of the present crisis.

Hard times lie ahead for Premier Laniel. The Communist-inspired General Confederation of Workers may launch a series of strikes in the near future as a protest against what it considers the reactionary character of the new government and of its program. Even the Catholic unions are becoming impatient. The Force Ouvrière, held together only by the leadership of Léon Jouhaux, has been losing so much ground lately that it will perforce have to follow the other unions in support of demands for higher wages. France has a new government, but its problems remain in aggravated form.

U. N. Instead of Big Five?

It looks as if the Russians were preparing to make the United Nations the chief focus of diplomatic action in the near future. There was a hint of this intention, as we said at the time, in the appointment of Andrei Vishinsky as Soviet permanent delegate to the U. N. (The general view was that the Russian Foreign Minister had suffered a demotion.) A more recent sign has been the total disappearance of the demand for a Big Five conference which had dominated Soviet propaganda ever since the Berlin meeting of the World Council of Peace. At the recent conference called by the World Council in Budapest, the Big Five motif was discreetly dropped, and stress was laid on the role of the United Nations as an instrument for peace. More significant still was the tone of the editorial on international relations in the last number of the Cominform organ. Following the Budapest lead, the article concluded that the United Nations might serve as the means of bringing about improved relations, provided the spirit of the Charter was respected.

This shift in diplomatic emphasis is worth following with attention. Without abandoning their support of Communist China or giving up the idea that at the proper moment Peking's admission to the U. N. might be backed by Britain, Canada, and other non-Communist states, the Russians seem to be adopting a strategy which eliminates one of the major obstacles to more friendly dealings with Washington—their formerly stubborn insistence on a conference including Mao Tse-tung.

The Statehood Shell Game

Two news stories which appeared in parallel columns in the New York *Times* of July 4 illuminate certain questions raised by Mr. Gruening's article in this issue (page 24). Testifying before the Senate Interior and Insular Affairs Committee in Washington on a bill to grant statehood to Hawaii—a hearing in which Senator Smathers, Florida Democrat, appeared as the leading opponent of the bill—Edward Sylva, Attorney General of Hawaii, vehemently disputed the contention of the ex-Communist informer and professional witness Paul Crouch that the Communist Party dominates the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union in Hawaii.

On the same day that Mr. Sylva testified in Washington, Jack Hall, the leader of the I. L. W. U. in the islands, and five other persons were sentenced in Honolulu to five years' imprisonment and a $5,000 fine each following their conviction for conspiring to teach and advocate the violent overthrow of the territorial government. Pleading for the statehood bill, Mr. Sylva effectively demonstrated why there is no "clear and present danger" of a Communist conspiracy succeeding in Hawaii, a conclusion with which even Senator Arthur V. Watkins, Republican of Utah, agreed. Yet if this be true, then why was Hall convicted? Mr. Sylva's testimony suggests the answer. The conviction of the Smith act defendants, he explained, was "greeted with applause" in Hawaii since it was regarded as the perfect answer to those who urged "the red menace" in order to block statehood. Yet far from furthering the cause of statehood, the convictions have had exactly the opposite effect: they are being cited as proof positive that a "clear and present danger" exists.

But even if such a danger did exist then obviously by not granting statehood we are only increasing the danger.

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The multi-racial islanders well know that Dixiecrats like Senator Smathers are primarily interested in their racial ancestry, not their ideology. And being largely working class in origin, they will not be slow to recognize that the upper-class proponents of statehood have in effect admitted that Hall was improperly convicted. Should statehood now be denied, in the wake of Hall's conviction, working-class consciousness is certain to increase in Hawaii.

Wise Man's First Premise

Roy M. Cohn and G. David Schine, consultants, investigators, and advisers extraordinary to Senator McCarthy, were scheduled to appear recently on WOR-TV's "America Speaks" forum program to debate the question: "What Is Behind the Eisenhower Speech on Book-Burning?" But both men reneged when told that their opponent would be James A. Wechsler, editor of the New York *Post*. Following Senator McCarthy's example, neither could appear, it was explained, on a program with any person who had been sworn as a witness before the committee. "My position," Mr. Cohn explained, "is like that of a prosecuting attorney"—a rather remarkable admission in view of the committee's insistence that it is not a prosecuting agency. Messrs. Cohn and Schine spurned the suggestion that Elmer Rice, the playwright, be substituted for Mr. Wechsler. "Oh, no," they said, "he's an author, and therefore a potential witness"—another interesting admission.

Cohn finally said he would appear with Howard Rushmore, the New York *Journal-American's* "anti-Communist" expert who for a time served on the staff of the committee chaired by Senator McCarthy, or with Louis Budenz. The producers then pointed out that both men were authors and had appeared before the committee as witnesses. Ultimately Cohn suggested Godfrey P. Schmidt, Fordham University law professor and Cardinal Spellman's legal adviser. Mr. Schmidt did not hesitate to declare that there was nothing really objectionable about book-burnings—that is, of some books—thereby indicating who if not what is behind some of the current interest in the subject. "The wise man's first premise," Mr. Wechsler replied, quoting Justice Holmes, "is that he is not God."

Opportunity for Colombia

A month after Colombia's coup d'état its significance is becoming clearer. Although the leading figure was again a military man, General Gustavo Rojas Pinilla, the circumstances of the coup and the perspectives it opened make it something more than the usual Latin American "pronunciamiento." Opposition movements in other countries subject to dictators have been greatly encouraged by the forcible but bloodless change in Bogotà.

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Coming from the atmosphere of General Franco's entourage in Madrid, President Laureano Gomez was on the point of celebrating his return to the presidency, after a leave of absence for illness, by making the dictatorship still more sereve. Eager to insure total control, his first thought was to get rid of the acting commander of the army, General Rojas Pinilla, who was said to oppose a Peronist experiment in Colombia. Notified of Gomez's intention, the General simply arrested the Dictator, without having to fire a shot, and sent him out of the country on board a regular passenger plane.

Apparently the result will not be merely the replacement of one dictator with another. Great possibilities are now open to the democratic elements of Colombia, and they have a good leader in former President Eduardo Santos. But the Liberals must prove they have learned something from the recent period of weakness and romanticism. Though the "perfectionists" are already calling for early "free elections," the more experienced fear that after years of arbitrary rule and destruction of liberties, no genuinely free elections can be held until the present government has had a chance to establish safeguards against reactionary terrorism and fraud. A sense of security and confidence is Colombia's first requirement.

Questions on a Bid

The contract for ten transformers at Chief Joseph Dam has been awarded by the Defense Department to a British firm which again was the low bidder. But a much more valuable one for generators has been secured by the Westinghouse Electric Company which on the second round of bids cut its original price by $746,762, or more than 25 per cent, to a figure well below that of its British competitor. Thus a knotty problem appears to have been solved in a way that clears the Defense Department from the charge of flouting the policy of "trade, not aid."

It seems to us, however, that the episode ought not to be closed until some pertinent questions are answered. According to Secretary of Defense Wilson, the initial bids were rejected because specifications had been too loosely drawn, enabling the British concern to proffer material of a lower quality than that of the American bidders. How then, on the basis of "tighter" specifications, was it possible for Westinghouse to bid so much lower a price? Some explanation is necessary in view of the fact that Westinghouse is organizing a loud propaganda campaign against the awarding of government contracts to foreign firms which, according to the American firm, offers unfair competition because of much lower labor costs.

Now it may be that in the case of the Chief Joseph generators, Westinghouse cut its price below cost for the sake of prestige. It seems more probable, however, that relying on the 25 per cent preference provided by the "Buy American" act, it included in its first bid an unconscionably fat profit. In that case, the interpretation of the "Buy American" act that allows the armed services to make foreign purchases when this helps the mutual-security program is justified by the break it gives the taxpayer as well as by the support it offers to our foreign policies.

Korea and Collective Security

THE MOST popular spectator sport over the past few days has been the grim one of guessing whether Syngman Rhee would accept any truce formula that anybody else could accept, and if not what the Administration, the U. N., and the Communists would do about it. The week opened with no answer. The one sure bet was that while the South Korean boss could not defeat the enemy he could certainly defeat the purposes of his allies and protectors. He could sabotage a truce. He could endanger the U. N. army if it tried to pull out. In the process of committing national suicide, he could turn the U. N.'s action in Korea into a monumental fiasco and damage its prestige and good faith throughout the world.

But another question is rearing its head behind the diplomatic struggle at Seoul. It is a question highlighted but not created by Mr. Rhee, and it should be worrying the world quite as much as his immediate capacity for mischief. The question is this: has the Korean war and its denouement put an end to the use of military sanctions as an instrument of collective security? The search for an answer should reach beyond the present impasse and concentrate on the greater issue of sovereignty in relation to collective responsibility.

SYNGMAN RHEE'S insistence on his right to determine the minimum safeguards required for the security of his country is no doubt stubborn and irrational. For one thing his demand for national unity, achieved by force if necessary, is in effect a demand that Korea be unified under his regime. No United Nations resolution ordained that unification meant extending the rule of Mr. Rhee to the Yalu River, not even the authorization of General MacArthur's drive across the Thirty-eighth Parallel. As a matter of fact, the more President Rhee argues his claim to control the whole country, denying the very existence of North Korea as a separate state, the more he undermines the original case for military sanctions. The Security Council backed the American call for "police action" on the ground that North Korea, in sending its army across an agreed national boundary, had committed aggression. According to the Syngman Rhee

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theory there was no aggression, only an act of rebellion. But the U. N. did not vote military sanctions to support one side in a civil war. It was a sovereign state whose existence was threatened; it was an invading army that the U. N. voted to help repel. President Rhee had better keep those facts in mind: they constitute his only valid claim to the military aid poured into South Korea since June, 1950.

But once the basis for military sanctions is firmly established, a problem arises out of it. When and how and through whose decision is the collective action to be ended? Certainly it was the intention of the nations that voted sanctions to reserve to the U. N. the power to decide when the aggression had been checked and on what terms they should pull out. Never could they have imagined that the final decision would rest with the rescued nation, that South Korea would assume the right to veto or wreck a truce it did not approve. Yet the very essence of the sovereignty which was threatened by an aggressor and preserved by U. N. intervention is embodied in Syngman Rhee's fanatical determination to decide his country's destiny. Legal experts may argue that by the act of accepting collective help, the South Korean government voluntarily gave up that right. This is a point which could be long debated. But realistically the problem represented by Rhee's resistance to the U. N. truce terms remains untouched. For whatever its legal obligations a state which has been the beneficiary of collective military sanctions is in a position to claim the last word on the settlement of the dispute—or wreck the show.

This is a danger that was not anticipated when sanctions were voted. It turns out to be a very serious danger, so serious that it is hard to believe another similar decision will ever be made in like circumstances. Three years of war waged with modern weapons, hundreds of thousands dead, a country destroyed, billions of dollars sunk in the effort—and in the end, when aggression is defeated and principle vindicated, the victim can calmly say: "Sorry, partners, but this is not the way we want the show to end. We want you to stay and keep on fighting until we consider the war won. Of course you can refuse: but if you do we will fight alone."

THE U. N. forces *can* pull out, in theory. But in fact they cannot unless he agrees, without still more frightful risks. For a great army depends for every move it makes on the cooperation and support of the country in which it is operating. Enough has been written by experts in the field to show how complete is the veto power over the U. N. exercised today by Rhee's regime. Other sorts of sanctions—economic, diplomatic—can be applied and then lifted. Military sanctions cannot; by their very nature they deprive the collective body of control over its own actions. Syngman Rhee has dramatized a question that may as well be faced now as later, the question whether the United Nations will not have to reconsider the whole problem of how to deal with acts of aggression and other threats to world peace. FREDA KIRCHWEY

49TH AND 50TH STATES

G. O. P. Betrays a Pledge . . . *by Ernest Gruening*

Juneau, Alaska

IT LOOKS increasingly as if the Administration would fail to carry out one of its clearest and easiest commitments —statehood for Hawaii and Alaska. The Republican platform was specific. It favored "immediate statehood for Hawaii; statehood for Alaska under an equitable enabling act."

ERNEST GRUENING, Governor of Alaska from December, 1939, to the spring of 1953, was previously Director of the Division of Territories and Island Possessions of the Department of the Interior. He was also an editor of The Nation *for several years.*

There was more than that. Three years ago, addressing a Denver audience, President Eisenhower of Columbia University declared: "Quick admission of Alaska and Hawaii to statehood will show the world that 'America practices what it preaches.'"

This sound and stimulating contribution to contemporary thought was particularly pertinent in view of the international situation. Circumstances had thrust world leadership upon the United States. Inevitably such leadership seeks to further the basic principles of our ideology, of which there is none more important than "government by consent of the governed." It began in a real sense when Franklin D. Roosevelt started putting our own house in order in relation to its surroundings and enunciated the "good neighbor" policy. Intervention in Latin American countries was forsworn. Cuba was freed from the vassalage of the Platt amendment; the Monroe Doctrine was made multilateral; and our promise to grant full independence to the Philippines was fulfilled. President Truman carried the process farther, He proceeded vigorously to divorce the United States from the imperial colonialism on which it embarked after the war with Spain, urged on by McKinley's "manifest destiny" and Theodore Roosevelt's "big stick." Tru-

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man asked for immediate statehood for Alaska and Hawaii, the first President to do so. For Puerto Rico the Truman Administration procured precisely the political status which most Puerto Ricans desired—that of an associated dominion. Our insular problem child thus obtained not only the advantages of independence without loss of any of the privileges of American citizenship but all the economic benefits of inclusion in the American system.

The Eightieth, Eighty-first, and Eighty-second Congresses failed to carry out Truman's program for Alaska and Hawaii. Statehood bills for both passed the House but not the Senate. Southern Democrats, obsessed with fear of civil-rights legislation and consequently unwilling to add new states whose Senators were unlikely to share their enthusiasm for the filibuster, combined with conservative Republicans to shelve the statehood bills, despite unwavering favorable committee reports in both houses. Public sentiment in the nation, however, supported them overwhelmingly, and the cause was clearly gaining strength.

AFTER VOTING heavily Republican in their 1952 election, which preceded the national election by three weeks, Alaskans received a rude shock from President Eisenhower's State of the Union message. This urged Congress to grant statehood to Hawaii "promptly with the first election scheduled for 1954" but made no mention of Alaska. The Alaska House of Representatives, composed of twenty Republicans and four Democrats, by unanimous vote immediately wired the President its protest.

What is the explanation for the failure to mention Alaska? To questions asked at subsequent press conferences President Eisenhower has responded variously. He didn't think Alaska was ready. Hawaiians had a splendid war record which deserved recognition, and so forth. Actually, partisan political considerations determined the selection of Hawaii as the Republicans' lone candidate for statehood. Territorial policies under this Administration are shaped by Senator Hugh Butler of Nebraska, chairman of the Senate Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs. Butler has long been violently opposed to statehood for either Alaska or Hawaii. His feelings about Hawaii were revealed when as

Senator Butler

chairman of the same committee in the Republican Eightieth Congress he spoke of the danger that a "Jap Senator" would be elected to the United States Senate should Hawaii be admitted. Subsequently he emphasized the communism in the Islands. But whatever his objections, they vanished when the 1952 election gave the Republicans only a one-vote majority in the Senate. If the Democrats should gain one seat in 1954, the Republicans would lose control, and Butler his chairmanship. Owing to the foresight of Hawaiians in drawing up and approving a constitution without waiting for Congressional action, passage of the Hawaiian statehood bill would enable the people of Hawaii to elect two Senators and a Representative in the 1954 elections. Alaska, on the other hand, could not elect its Senators until 1956.

Hawaii and Alaska statehood proposals, though formulated in separate bills, have been teamed in recent years, for two reasons. First, since they are the only two incorporated territories—the only areas eligible for statehood—it has seemed proper and natural to bring them in together. A more practical reason has been that Hawaii has been assumed to be Republican; Alaska, Democratic. Hawaii has in fact gone Republican ever since a Democratic President, Grover Cleveland, refused to sanction annexation after the dethronement of Queen Liliuokalani and the establishment of the Hawaiian republic, and McKinley, his Republican successor, favored it. Alaska, since the establishment of its legislature in 1913, has exhibited the same political complexion as the nation, going Democratic from 1932 to 1950. Actually neither area is irrevocably in one party's pocket. In the last election Hawaii's popular delegate, Joseph Rider Farrington, was closely pressed by a little-feared Democrat; a swing of some 3,500 votes out of over 100,000 cast, would have elected Judge Delbert Metzger. Alaska Republicans carried the legislature overwhelmingly but failed to defeat the highly esteemed Democratic delegate, "Bob" Bartlett.

Had the Eisenhower Administration indorsed both Alaskan and Hawaiian statehood, the chances of both passing in the Eighty-third Congress would have been excellent. The Southern bloc, relieved of its fears of federal F. E. P. C. legislation, would undoubtedly have voted against the two measures but not filibustered against them. The Northern Democrats, together with the three Southern Democrats who voted for Alaskan statehood in 1952—Holland, Kefauver, and Sparkman—probably a few other Democrats, and the majority of Republicans, would have been ample to pass both. But the manifest partisanship of the Republican move to admit only Hawaii deeply disturbed the Democrats. On March 10 a motion to recommit the Hawaii bill for the purpose of having the committee bring out both bills was defeated in the House by the narrow margin of 227 to 182. Of the 182 voting to recommit, 165 were Democrats. But the Republican majority alone would not have been sufficient to prevent recommittal; twenty-seven Democrats also voted against it. This hurdle crossed, the Hawaii bill was passed 274 to 138, with 90 Democrats voting for it. Their number would have been larger but for the Administration's attitude on Alaskan statehood.

Ample time now remained for Senate action on Hawaii. But an unexpected and unexplained delay took place. For ten days the Hawaiians could get only evasive replies from the Republican leadership. (Was it because of the growing fear that of the prospective Hawaiian Senators only one was likely to be a Republican?) Then the Senate Interior and Insular Affairs Committee by a vote of eight to seven reported favorably on Senator Anderson's motion that the Alaskan bill should be attached to the Hawaii bill and the two acted on

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jointly. One Republican, Malone of Nevada, had switched to the Democratic side and given it a majority. While professedly against the admission of either Hawaii or Alaska, Malone declared it was only fair that both be considered.

Will the Administration now confess itself beaten in its own proclaimed purpose to pass the Hawaii statehood bill? It looks so, despite the fact that last week committee hearings were held on the bill. In view of the feebleness of the Republican effort—in contrast with its declarations—it seems likely that Hawaii will again be doomed to disappointment.

TWO COURSES are now open to the Administration. One is to bring the Hawaiian bill on to the floor despite the committee vote and use its influence to get it passed. The case for Hawaiian statehood is overwhelming. Only the feeblest arguments were advanced by its opponents in the two-day House debate—non-contiguity, communism, racial origins. The non-contiguity argument falls to pieces in the presence of modern communications which make Hawaii, and Alaska, nearer in travel time to the national capital than was any previous state at the time of its admission, to say nothing of instantaneous communication by radiophone. The Communist issue has been amply disposed of by the investigations of Congressional committees. The Oriental origin of the majority of Hawaiians distressed a number of Southern opponents. Representative Howard Smith of Virginia pointed out that we had never admitted a state in which Caucasians were in a minority. Others rang all possible changes on this theme. It was the first time the race issue had come out fully into the open in Congress.

The fact is that no Americans have been more thoroughly integrated into the American spirit than the diverse ethnic groups of Hawaii. No Americans have more thoroughly demonstrated their patriotism and their true Americanism. Hawaiian units in World War II were the most decorated of any in our armed forces. Their participation in the Korean War has been out of all proportion to their numbers. To reject Hawaii's admission on the ground of the people's racial origins—and that is the real ground on which rejection would be based—would deal our efforts to conciliate the darker races of men a fatal blow. It would be a damning negation by deed of what we are professing in words.

The other course open to the Administration, one recommended editorially by the New York *Herald Tribune*, is to bring up the Alaskan statehood bill also. That would, I believe, insure the passage of both bills. It would rally the Northern Democrats and some Southern Democrats to vote for the Hawaiian bill. With the Republican support both bills would breeze through. Is there any reason why this should not be done?

A month after the Hawaiian bill passed the House, the House Interior and Insular Affairs subcommittee on territories held hearings on the Alaskan bill. All who wished to be heard were given an opportunity. No one opposed appeared, and its advocates gave an impressive factual demonstration of the validity of Alaska's cause. After the hearings the full House committee voted to report the bill favorably.

IT WAS AN amended bill. The Republican national platform, it will be recalled, indorsed statehood for Alaska "under an equitable enabling act." This language was the direct result of the character of the opposition to Alaskan statehood in the Eighty-second Congress.

Few attacks on statehood as such were made there, other than the time-worn arguments that have been used against almost every state's efforts to obtain admission. Instead, the opposition, directed from behind the scenes by the Alaska canned-salmon industry of Seattle, which works closely with Senator Butler, tried to show that the enabling act did not provide adequate support for the proposed state. In the 1952 debate Alaska was constantly reproached with the fact that 99 per cent of its land was still in the federal public domain, and that therefore Alaska, as a state, would be a vassal of the Department of the Interior. The bill before the Eighty-second Congress was in reality a more generous one than most states have enjoyed. In its earlier drafts it had granted the new state two, later four, numbered sections of land in every township. But since that might include much worthless land—tundra, marsh, mountain top—and also burden the state with the problem of administering widely scattered tracts, the Senate committee, under the chairmanship of Joseph C. O'Mahoney, had substituted a new and unprecedented formula which granted Alaska some 23,000,000 acres of land of its own choosing. This would have given the state an area as large as New England; in other terms, it would have given Alaska more land not in the public domain than is possessed by the four states of Arizona, Idaho, Utah, and Nevada. But the opposition still contended that this was only 7 per cent of Alaska's total of 375,000,000 acres and therefore inadequate. It likewise pointed out that this land would be of little practical value until surveyed, and that at the rate at which the federal government had been making surveys in Alaska it would take seventeen thousand years to complete the task.

Herblock, Washington *Post*

Aloha!

The fact, of course, is that federal land policies, against which the people of Alaska have protested unceasingly for the eighty-six years since the Purchase, are responsible. For more than thirty years—from 1867 to 1898—none of the nation's land laws were extended to Alaska. It was impossible for a settler to acquire title to a square foot of land. In the wake of the Klondike gold rush Congress applied the homestead laws to Alaska but largely nullified them by failing to appropriate funds for surveys. By that time these laws, drafted nearly half a century previously for the states, were no longer suitable for Alaska. Legislature after legislature, governor after governor, has pleaded with Congress for land laws that would make it possible to transfer some portion of Alaska's vast and relatively empty domain to private ownership. These pleas have been unheeded. That is why so much land remains in public domain. If Con-

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gress were to adapt the public-land laws to Alaska's needs, settlement would proceed apace. Members of Congress, opposed to statehood, use the stick of their own—or their predecessors'—shortcomings to beat Alaska with.

Now the 1952 Republican plank on Alaska meant—if it meant anything—that previous statehood bills had been inadequate and that the Administration would produce an adequate one. But no confirmation of this appeared in President Eisenhower's State of the Union message or in any subsequent statement or press conference. Alaska's aspirations have been wholly ignored at the top.

However, the House subcommittee on territories, under the energetic leadership of Representative John P. Saylor of Pennsylvania, amended the current bill to provide 100,000,000 acres of land for Alaska, plus $15,000,000 to defray the cost of surveys and other costs incidental to statehood. It granted the future state of Alaska title to the submerged lands for three miles beyond the low-tide mark.

This is certainly an "equitable" enabling act. One hundred million acres is an area as large as our second largest state, California. If the Republican high command was sincere in its past statements and platform pledge, its course is now simple. It will obtain a "rule" for the Alaskan-statehood bill in the House which will insure its passage there. In the Senate, given Administration support, the bill will have plain sailing. Both Hawaii and Alaska will thus achieve statehood—Hawaii in 1954, Alaska in 1956.

WITHOUT SUCH a reasonable and sound policy neither Hawaii nor Alaska will achieve statehood—certainly not in the Eighty-third Congress. For Hawaii one more defeat will be tragic. For a quarter of a century Hawaiians have been working for the statehood that was implicitly promised them over half a century ago. If they are rebuffed again they can only develop a profound bitterness, a burning sense of injustice, of promises broken, of racial prejudice determining a national policy to keep them indefinitely, perhaps permanently, as second-class citizens, of pledges broken, of promises betrayed. It will be a sorry spectacle before the whole world, whose good-will and confidence we so earnestly seek and so sorely need.

The Alaska case does not have these tragic overtones. It is true that the arguments advanced against Alaskan statehood are groundless, the allegations in opposition spurious. Wholly selfish forces are operating to deny Alaskans their rightful heritage as Americans. The opposition to Alaska statehood arises almost entirely from absentee groups, principally in Seattle, who for years have been extracting profitable income from the territory and fear that statehood will mean increased taxation. They have of course their representatives scattered through Alaska who oppose statehood at Chamber of Commerce meetings. Precisely these same forces have always fought every increase of self-government. After the farcical gesture toward civil government called the Organic Act of 1884 they opposed any workable territorial government and even managed to delay creation of the office of delegate until 1906.

The principal enemy of Alaskan statehood, the Alaska canned-salmon industry with headquarters in Seattle, has consistently opposed needed revenue legislation for Alaska and kept lobbyists in both Washington and Juneau. It succeeded in 1912, when the present Organic Act was passed by Congress, in depriving Alaska of the control of its fisheries—a discrimination not visited on Hawaii or Puerto Rico. It has since resisted every attempt to transfer the fisheries to the territory despite the repeated pleas of almost every legislature, the governors, and the public generally. At a referendum held last fall the people of Alaska voted five to one for a transfer of the fisheries, but the canned-salmon industry has been sufficiently potent not only in Congress but in the Interior Department—yes, under Ickes, Krug, and Chapman as well as their Republican predecessors—to prevent such action.

The industry's opposition to the transfer of the fisheries is based on the assumption that with control of the fisheries the Alaska legislature would promptly abolish fish traps, elaborate stationary pieces of gear costing several thousand dollars to instal which intercept the salmon as they go up the rivers to spawn. The use of fish traps is opposed not only by the fishermen, who consider them unfair competition with their purse seines, gill-nets, and trolling gear, but by the people of Alaska as a whole. At a referendum called by the 1949 legislature the people of Alaska voted nine to one for their abolition, but the Fish and Wildlife Service of the Department of the Interior has complete control of the regulation and conservation of the fisheries and the referendum has been without effect. The general opposition to fish traps is based on the widespread belief that they are unduly destructive of fish. The steady diminution of the salmon runs in Alaska, which have now reached the lowest point in twenty years, can undoubtedly be partly attributed to their use. Fish traps have been abolished in Oregon, Washington, and British Columbia.

NO SUCH powerful economic interests are opposing Hawaiian statehood. The large sugar and pineapple corporations, the so-called Big Five, are owned and officered by residents of the Islands. Absentee control is not a factor. One reason the Big Five want statehood is to prevent the threatened discrimination in raw-sugar and refined-sugar quotas which seriously menaces the insular economy. What opposition to statehood exists within Hawaii is based on the fear—much less strong than on the mainland—that persons of Oriental descent will increasingly dominate.

Statesmanship and good faith demand that President Eisenhower return to the position he enunciated in his noble and inspiring utterance of three years ago: "Quick admission of Alaska and Hawaii to statehood will show the world that 'America practices what it preaches.'"

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MOSCOW PEACE DRIVE

Victory for Containment? . . . *by W. A. Williams*

STALIN'S death and the subsequent changes in the internal and foreign policies of the Soviet Union have provoked a huge quantity of opinion and interpretation in the Western world. Through it all has run the view that American policy is responsible for most if not all of these developments. From the New York *Times* "Review of the Week" to the most recent book by Isaac Deutscher ("Russia: What Next?") the agreement is almost unanimous: containment has turned the trick. Closer examination of this view, however, may reveal that the facile equation of containment with developments in Russia is not so valid as it appears at first glance.

In its most persuasive form, as presented by Mr. Deutscher, the current line of reasoning is unequivocal: the Soviet peace offensive represents a "signal success of that [containment] policy." Deutscher reaches this conclusion via a keen analysis of Stalin's temporary failure to restrain the more powerful, capable, and ambitious of the non-Russian Communist leaders who operated in valid revolutionary situations. Tito and Mao Tse-tung are offered as prime examples of such men. Forced reluctantly to identify himself with these revolutions—primarily for reasons of prestige and theory—Stalin could not avoid, Deutscher continues, antagonizing the West. But containment, he asserts, forced these advocates of world revolution, and their supporters in the Kremlin, to accept Stalin's argument for socialism in one area. Thus World War III was at least postponed, and an opportunity created for reform in Russia.

Well argued as it is, this interpretation overlooks the negative consequences of containment. If we accept Deutscher's portrait of Stalin as the reluctant revolutionary, then we are right back with Stalin and Churchill during the years 1941-44, when both men sought to effect just such a non-revolutionary settlement in post-war Europe. As early as August, 1941, Harry Hopkins returned from his first trip to Moscow to report that Stalin was concerned with a clear settlement of Eastern European boundaries. Four months later the Soviets asked the British for a firm understanding on the Russian border of 1941, a line to which Stalin "attached fundamental importance." For his part Churchill argued that Russia should not be denied "the frontier she occupied when Germany attacked her" and pointed out that this "was the basis on which Russia acceded to the [Atlantic] Charter." But the United States refused to allow such a settlement, and the Anglo-Soviet treaty of May, 1942, ignored all boundary issues.

Thus the question remained open when the Red Army began its counter-attack to the west after the victory at Stalingrad. By the summer of 1944 Churchill realized that some settlement had to be made before the continued advance of the Red Army carried Soviet power to the shores of the Mediterranean. When Washington again declined to participate formally in such discussions, Churchill went to Moscow alone. In a series of frank exchanges with Stalin during the first part of October, 1944, Churchill agreed to Soviet predominance in Rumania, Bulgaria, and Hungary in return for joint authority in Yugoslavia and British control in Greece. These decisions were translated into action when the Soviets acquiesced in British intervention against Greek Communists in Athens and later, at

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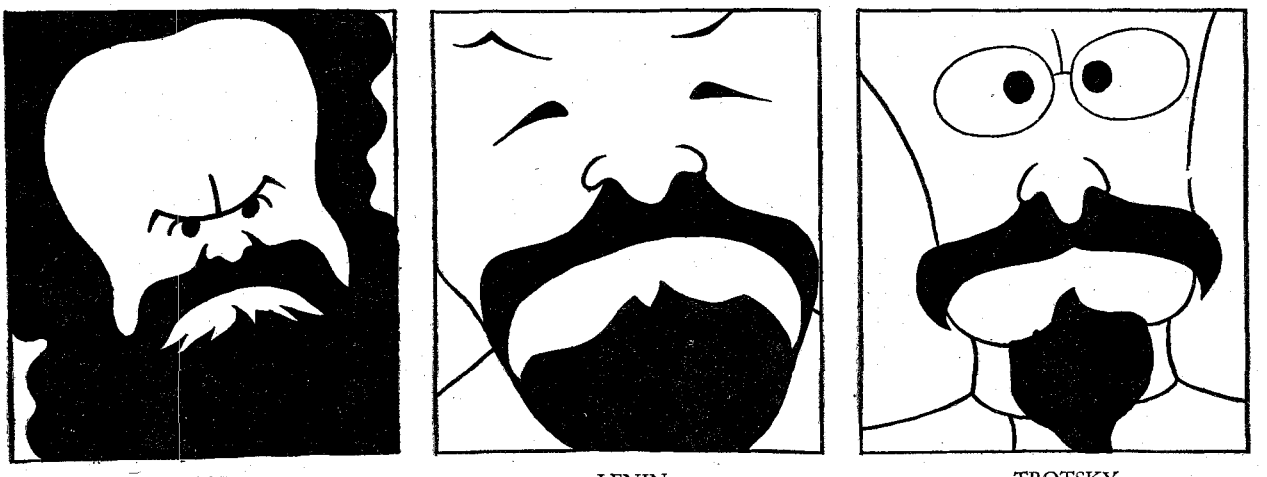
A History of the Soviet Union . . .



MARX LENIN TROTSKY

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Yalta, when Stalin forced Tito to accept a subordinate position in the first post-war Yugoslav government.

The Churchill-Stalin agreements were in force, and had been honored, when the two men joined Roosevelt at Yalta in February, 1945. Stalin had two interdependent objectives at that conference: achieve security in Eastern Europe by winning American approval of the October pact with Churchill and by extending the understanding to include acceptance of the Curzon line in Poland; and obtain aid from the West for Russia's shattered economy. These considerations offer the first clue that more is needed to explain post-Yalta developments than merely the forcing of Stalin's hand by his avid revolutionary comrades.

For Washington's tendency, both before and after Roosevelt's death, to draw back from Churchill's policy, which was designed to facilitate Stalin's non-revolutionary solution to the dilemma, only weakened Stalin's arguments against revolution. The paradox was that Washington's verbal intervention, and later more direct interference, strengthened those local Communist leaders, such as Tito, who were already opposing Stalin's insistence that they content themselves with no more than strong representation in new bourgeois governments. Russia's intervention in Rumania against a non-Communist government that failed to honor its reparations quota at a time when the Red Army was staging the assault on Berlin was militantly criticized by Washington, even though Stalin had ignored similar British action in Greece. And after the death of Roosevelt the protests of Secretary of State James F. Byrnes became more numerous and insistent. These acts of American intervention served to strengthen, not weaken, the arguments of both Stalin's associates in the Kremlin and foreign Communists who contended that only a total seizure of power and world revolution could provide security.

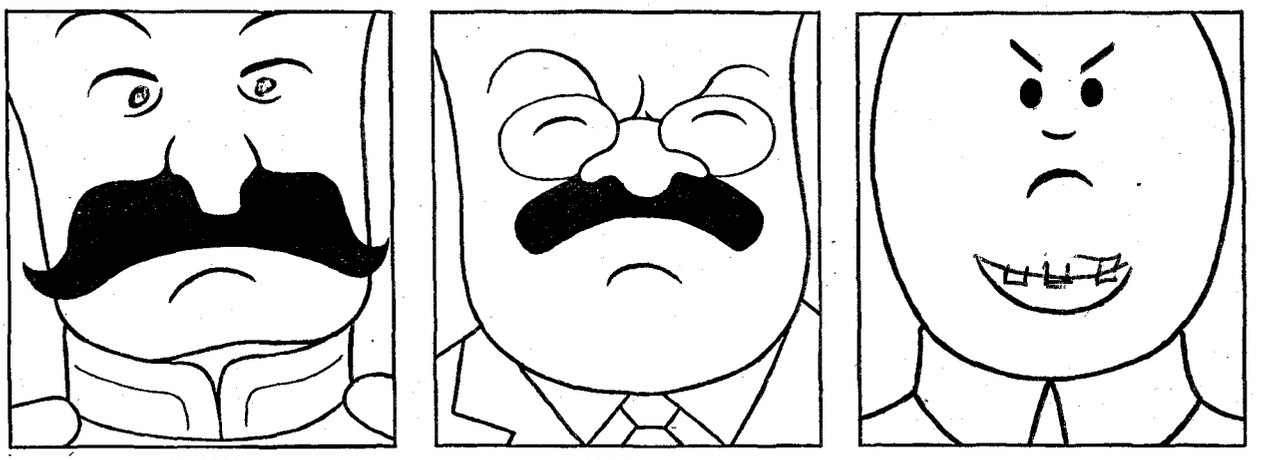
LIKEWISE, the failure of Washington to pursue the discussion of major economic assistance for the Soviet Union forced Stalin to depend on reparations. At the Tehran conference Roosevelt and Stalin spoke briefly of the importance of post-war economic relations, which Stalin hoped would be "greatly expanded." "I am sorry I did not get time," Roosevelt recalled, "to talk with the Russians about the whole question of reconstruction in Russia." But at Yalta the discussions went farther, with the Soviets clearly specifying their desire that Washington "would furnish the Soviet Union with long-term credits." Encouraged by these talks, Stalin applied formally for a six-billion-dollar loan to be used for rehabilitation and reconstruction. The State Department, however, "lost" the request, an oversight that did little to facilitate Stalin's efforts to negotiate a modus vivendi with the West. When Stalin emphasized the implications of losing a bid for a six-billion-dollar loan, Ambassador Walter Bedell Smith admitted that he "certainly had a good point there"; but no effort was made to reopen the discussion.

Stalin turned from the idea of a loan to that of reparations in kind—plants not products—as a solution for Russia's economic problems. That this policy was viewed as but another example of Soviet duplicity by the very people who lost the loan application can hardly be wondered at, since that was their *original* assumption—as revealed by Harriman's early recommendation to isolate Russia economically, the sudden and unilateral termination of Lend-Lease, and Forrestal's long search for a formal statement of both the assumptions and the purpose of the policy.

This, of course, came in the famous containment article by George F. Kennan. There the explicit goal was to effect a major modification in, or the total collapse of, the Soviet Union. Not only was Kennan's assumption that Soviet revolutionary expansion was a calculated policy far wide of the mark (Deutscher's book provides convincing evidence on this point), but his few words of caution about the need for tact and leaving open a door for Soviet retreat carried little weight in view of his main thesis, or when set against the language of the Truman Doctrine and Secretary of State Dean Acheson's constant cry for total diplomacy. The American containment policy scarcely strengthened Stalin's efforts to stabilize relations with the West and control the revolutionary fervor of his subordinates and foreign friends.

It may well be that this policy has actually led to a more ruthless and completely Moscow-directed consolidation of the area from the Elbe to the Yellow Sea. Certainly the character and tone of the Soviet Union's response to containment and to the Truman Doctrine indicate that this was the case. Whether one reads Soviet foreign-policy declarations

. . . *By Max Brandel*



STALIN MOLOTOV MALENKOV

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of that period, keeps tally on the purges, or notes the use of Eastern European economies to supply Moscow's needs, one cannot help observing the extent of Russian control. Stalin's last testament also suggests such a conclusion, not only in its clear reflection of the continued strength within the party of those who advocated more revolution instead of less, but also in its picture of the integration of the Soviet-dominated area.

Perhaps these considerations explain Churchill's call for an end to the cold war and a return to the diplomacy of negotiation. Premier Malenkov has clearly indicated his desire to follow Stalin's earlier policy, but also his inability to do so unless the West abandons the objective of containment. The West's refusal to match Stalin's policy is risking the triumph within the Kremlin of those Soviet leaders who argue for world revolution. And that is to abandon the present to history. Churchill seems more confident that men can manage it for themselves.

ORDER OF LENIN

A Fable for Americans . . *by Malcolm Logan*

WHEN Oscar Slade was expelled from the Communist Party in the spring of 1964, he was given the full treatment. The *Daily Worker* denounced him as a Trotskyite, Titoist, right deviationist, diversionist, homeless cosmopolitan, and imperialist warmonger. He was also accused of wife-beating and the theft of three volumes of the Little Lenin Library from his section headquarters.

In due time Slade produced a book in which he confessed in great detail his sins as a Communist and exposed the machinations of the party. His reputation as a patriot and a man conversant with the great Communist conspiracy was enhanced by testimony he gave before the House Un-American Activities Committee, lecture tours, and magazine articles. Within a year an important newspaper employed him as its full-time anti-Communist expert.

For this new career Slade equipped himself with the published hearings of the Un-American Activities Committee, the Attorney General's list of subversive organizations, and a subscription to the *Daily Worker*. From these sources he compiled an index of all persons who had ever been mentioned unfavorably by the House committee or favorably by the *Daily Worker* or whose names had appeared on the lists of any organization which had ever been called a Communist front. When any of these obviously subversive individuals joined an organization, signed a petition, or attended a meeting, Slade warned the nation of this new threat to American institutions. By the logic of guilt by association, anyone who belonged to the same organization, signed the same petition, or attended the same meeting was patently a Communist, or at least a fellow-traveler, and his name was also entered in Slade's growing index.

ONE OF THE FIRST major services which Slade rendered the anti-Communist cause was the disclosure that a high State Department official was an agent of the Cominform. The proof was irrefutable. This man had spoken at a banquet attended by three persons on Slade's index. They were (1) a college professor who had once signed a petition for continuation of rent control which had also been signed by a lawyer who had once contributed to the Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born, which was on the Attorney General's subversive list: (2) an engineer who had once belonged to a parent-teachers' association whose membership included a man who had attended a concert given by a pianist who ten years before had belonged to American Youth for Democracy; and (3) a business man whose nephew was employed by a man whose name had been mentioned at a hearing of the Un-American Activities Committee. (This reference, not quoted by Slade, was as follows: "*Q.* In the course of your Communist Party activities, did you ever meet Mr. Blank? *A.* No.")

Slade's shocking disclosure was taken up by a Senator whose term was expiring the following December. In a speech on the Senate floor, the Senator asserted that the State Department official accused by Slade was a known Communist who had packed the department with party members. The charge was so

MALCOLM LOGAN followed the Hiss trial and the trial of the thirteen Communist leaders as a member of the editorial staff of the New York Post.

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grave, and the number of Congressmen who needed a popular issue so large, that the Un-American Activities Committee was enlarged into a special, permanent, bipartisan joint investigating committee of 300 members, charged with extirpating Communist influence from the government.

The original charges of Slade and his Senatorial champion were never proved and were forgotten as Slade produced new and damning evidence against other officials up to the rank of Cabinet officer. Soon Congress was devoting almost all its time to private and public committee sessions, flying trips to all parts of the country where Slade and other patriots had found evidence of subversive activities, and debates about the Red menace.

Anyone who came to the defense of an accused person was himself denounced by Slade, and assorted Congressmen were subpoenaed, investigated, televised on the witness stand, and of course entered in Slade's index. Eventually those citizens who held the quaint notion that an accused man had the right to a fair trial were so intimidated that they dared not speak, shunned one another, and abjured any cause with the slightest taint of liberalism.

Slade also revealed that great numbers of subversives had infiltrated the military services. The build-up of the armed forces was suspended while an enormously enlarged G-2, assisted by the F. B. I., began a loyalty check of every man in uniform. The cost of this was so great that Congress diverted to it all funds which had been allocated to military equipment. All training was suspended during the interrogation of the soldiers, sailors, and fliers.

WHEN national absorption in the hunt for subversives had reached its peak, the U. S. S. R. struck without a declaration of war. Disunited and unprepared, the United States was defeated. Those members of the Congressional committee who survived the hydrogen bomb attack on Washington were liquidated by the victors. So was the publisher of Slade's newspaper.

At a great victory celebration in Stalin Place, Marxograd (formerly Union Square, New York City), Oscar Slade was decorated with the Order of Lenin (2nd class), His citation said:

"On assignment from the M. V. D., Comrade Oscar Slade, posing as an anti-Communist, created dissension among the imperialist rulers of the United States, paralyzed the social-democratic 'liberals' and other enemies of the U. S. S. R. by 'exposing' them as Communists, diverted the energies of the imperialist military forces, and installed secret friends of Soviet Russia in government positions where they could frustrate the warmongers' treacherous efforts to oppose the Red Army of liberation. Comrade Slade thus contributed greatly to the downfall of capitalism."

COLONIALISM ON TRIAL

The Kenyatta Case . . . *by Peter Abrahams*

[*The Jomo Kenyatta trial is one of the most significant events in recent African history. Native Africans, as well as many of their sympathizers in England and elsewhere, consider that in the defendant's dock stands not only an individual native African leader but colonialism itself in all its aspects—political, economic, and cultural.*

The writer of this article is one of the "Cape colored"—a person of mixed racial ancestry from Cape Province of the Union of South Africa—who is now working in England as a writer and radio commentator. His most recent book is "Return to Goli," an autobiography.]

London

JOMO KENYATTA'S appeal against his conviction of the crime of managing the Mau Mau terrorist society began last week before the Nairobi Supreme Court —a British court—in the small town of Kitale in Kenya. His counsel will again be D. N. Pritt, former left-wing Labor Member of Parliament, who defended him in the original fifty-eight-day trial, which ended last March. Kenyatta and five co-defendants were each sentenced to seven years' imprisonment for managing the secret society and three years for membership in it, the sentences to run concurrently.

For two months the courtroom in Kapenguria, in northern Kenya, was guarded day and night by soldiers and armored cars. Access to the court was by special permit which was granted only after the strictest security tests. The tense atmosphere surrounding the trial spread to the farthest corners of the colony as British troops prepared to deal with possible native demonstrations in support of Kenyatta.

Early in the case the brilliant Pritt clashed sharply with the presiding magistrate, R. B. Thacker. Pritt asserted that a fair trial could not be had at Kapenguria because it was a closed district and the public therefore could not attend. Nor could Mr. Thacker be expected to assure impartiality since he had previously expressed doubt of the reliability of one of the accused. Pritt also complained that there was no law library he could consult and that he had difficulty in getting witnesses into the closed area. He said that in forty-three years at the Bar he had never been treated like this. Judge Thacker thereupon declared Pritt in contempt of court. He then adjourned the trial so that the question whether what Mr. Pritt had said amounted to contempt of court could be decided. Pritt insisted that the conditions under which he had to conduct the defense amounted to a denial of justice. In the end the chief justice of

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Kenya, Sir Hector Hearne, acquitted Pritt. This was a great moral victory for him, and he was cheered as he reentered the Kapenguria courtroom.

All during the exchanges between the lawyer and the magistrate the central figure of the trial, the burly, bearded Jomo Kenyatta, sat calmly listening and making notes, while outside the terrorists carried on their attacks and killings, and the government forces, bent on "restoring law and order," did the same. The substance of the case against Kenyatta was that ever since his return from Europe in 1946, he had used force to make people take oaths and conspired with the other accused to foster discontent and disaffection. Prosecution witnesses testified that they had been present at oath-taking ceremonies directed by Kenyatta. An official of the Limuru branch of the Kenya African Union, the only political organization of blacks in Kenya, now proscribed, gave what was perhaps the most damning testimony. At a public gathering of his branch of the union, he said, Kenyatta was addressed as follows: "We regard you as the president of the Kenya African Union, but many people in this part of the country say you are the leader of Mau Mau. It would be a good thing if you stood up in front of this large crowd and made it clear that you are not the leader of Mau Mau." But Kenyatta replied: "It seems to me that you know nothing about the Kenya African Union. At a time when we are fighting against Europeans you are fighting against your own people. That is why you are asking me now this question about Mau Mau. I am not going to answer it." In summing up, the magistrate attached great weight to this piece of evidence.

KENYATTA, on oath, denied having had anything to do with Mau Mau. Asked if he believed in violence as a political weapon, he replied: "I have no room in my heart for violence or the use of force. At my school I reprimanded any teacher who used the cane on the children." He said that at six public meetings in the Central Province—which includes Nairobi, much of the White Highlands, and the Kikuyu Reserve—he had denounced Mau Mau and warned the members of the Kenya African Union that if any of them belonged to it they would be expelled from the union. Asked about the attitude of the white settlers to him, he said: "Some of them think that Kenyatta goes about with a pistol in his pocket and an assegai and is a horrible man. In reality I am just an ordinary man trying to get better conditions for my people without hurting anybody." He described the racial barriers in Kenya as "diabolical and evil" and said that in Europe he had lived happily with his European friends and that blacks and whites should be able to do the same in Kenya once the color bar was removed.

Mr. Thacker in his summation rejected Kenyatta's statement that he had always used constitutional methods in his efforts to achieve self-government for Africans. "It is my belief," he said, "that soon after your long stay in Europe, when you came back to the colony, you began to organize the Mau Mau society, the object of which was to drive all Europeans from Kenya, and in doing so kill them if necessary. I am satisfied that the master-mind behind the plan was yourself. I also believe that the methods to be employed were worked out by you, and that you have taken the fullest advantage of the power and influence you have over your people."

WHAT IS THE TRUTH about this Kenyatta who insists he is just an ordinary man striving for the good of his people, and whom the judge described as the master-mind behind the terrorist organization?

I knew Kenyatta well in England during the war years, when he was lecturing to troops and others in behalf of the Workers' Educational Association. He was a good lecturer. He had a wry and slightly wicked sense of humor and an infectious laugh that compelled response. He was a good mixer and was popular among English intellectuals and ordinary folk alike. In his wanderings about Europe he had spent some time in Moscow, but he had as little use for the Communists in Britain as they had for him. Like most African Negro intellectuals he was a bitter opponent of colonial imperialism, quite as uncompromising as his friend Kwame Nkrumah, now Prime Minister of the Gold Coast.

During the closing stages of the war a Pan-African Federation was formed in Britain to coordinate the activities of Negro groups working for African freedom. Kenyatta was elected president and Kwame Nkrumah, who had just arrived in Britain from the United States, became organizing secretary. After the Pan-African Congress in Britain in 1945, both Nkrumah and Kenyatta went back to Africa, one to become Prime Minister of his country after a period in jail, the other to go to jail with no prospect of honors ahead.

I BELIEVE that a comparison of the situations into which Nkrumah and Kenyatta stepped when they got back to Africa may help one to understand what lies behind the Kenyatta trial. The Gold Coast and Kenya are both under the control of the British Colonial Office, but in Kenya there are some 40,000 white settlers and in the Gold Coast none. This is the all-important point of difference. It brings out the terrible ambiguity of Colonial Office policy in Africa.

Because of the 40,000 white settlers Kenya, unlike the Gold Coast, has an official and unofficial color bar, and vast stretches of land have been declared "for Europeans only." Again, because of the 40,000 white settlers the Colonial Office will not make the gesture of statesmanship which it made when it unlocked the prison gates and Nkrumah walked out to form his government. It should be recalled that when Nkrumah was imprisoned he too was charged with forming secret societies and the like. The difference between the fates met by the two men arises from the fact that the Prime Minister was born in a country whose climate is not conducive to white settlement and the prisoner appealing his sentence was born in a country the white man covets. Moreover, as Sir Godfrey Huggins, Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia, declared in a moment of frankness some years ago, "The white man in Africa is not prepared, and never will be prepared, to accept the African as an equal either socially or politically."

When I stopped in Kenya on my way back from South Africa last year, I spent some time with Kenyatta. This was before the Mau Mau trouble had started. In the course of one of our conversations he said to me: "Tell me, man, would it be such a crime if I, the leader of the majority in this country, were to be made Prime Minister? Would it be such a crime?"

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J. Alvarez del Vayo

France and Germany

Paris

THROUGHOUT the long crisis which has just ended with the establishment in power of the "classic right," Germany was the underlying issue of the grave debate. Superficially other problems—Indo-China, North Africa, the share of France in the burden of common defense—were more in the foreground. But to a close observer it was clear that Germany's unification and its integration in the military system of the West remained at the root of the many pressing political difficulties which the formation of the Laniel Cabinet has only postponed.

One has but to see the film about which all Paris is talking these days, "La Vie passionnée de Clemenceau," to realize how the question of Germany weighs on this country. In the last moving moments of his life one worry disturbs the old warrior's serene eclipse—the world's failure to understand the meaning of Germany. His warning that the victory achieved in 1918 would be wrecked if Germany were allowed to rise again as a military power was ignored, and the world paid with the destroyed cities and the millions of dead of World War II. But even this terrible lesson has not been enough. Germany is again on the way to becoming the master of Europe, resurrected and rearmed by its late adversaries.

With respect to France, the normal trend of its foreign policy has been distorted by the dilemma in which the country has been placed of either renouncing American aid or yielding to American insistence on a rearmed Germany as the strongest pillar of the Atlantic coalition. Indeed, everything that looks so irrational in French politics today derives from the need to make all kinds of moves in order to delay the hour when France must say to America: "No, we don't want to be saved from the remote danger of a Russian assault at the cost of ourselves preparing the next German assault." Until the day when a strong popular government takes power and finds the courage to adopt a German policy in accordance with the deepest interests and instincts of France, we shall continue to witness a succession of smart tricks—"protocols" aimed at delaying ratification of the European-army treaty, feeble attempts to modify Washington's position, small concessions to Washington, governments coming in and going out.

IT IS EASY therefore to understand the intense interest with which the developments in East Germany were followed here. The more detached and solid reactions had to be sought outside Socialist and Communist circles. The French Socialists of course seized upon the Berlin riots to prove that throughout the Soviet area the workers were waiting for the chance to throw off Communist domination. The Communists retaliated by attributing the East German disorders to American *agents provocateurs.*

Chancellor Adenauer

Apart from the views of the "enemy brothers" (Socialists and Communists), the French attitude toward the Berlin events is rather realistic. Without minimizing the genuine dissatisfaction of the workers in the Russian zone, acknowledged by the Russians themselves, and the undoubted intervention of *agents provocateurs,* the best observers here have drawn two main conclusions: first, despite the impressive determination of the German workers to make their protest heard, there is not much chance of a successful revolt in territories occupied by the Russians or under Soviet control if the Russians want to put it down. In other words it would be a great error on the part of Western strategists to deduce from what has happened in East Germany that a successful uprising in the Communist world can be confidently expected or easily instigated. Second, the fact that the Soviet High Commissioner, Semyonov, is going ahead with measures of conciliation and reform offers the best evidence that Moscow's policy is geared to its fixed desire for a settlement of the German problem.

To the French government the postponement of the Bermuda conference may have been welcome. Too short a time has passed since the installation of the new Cabinet to permit a full examination of the conference agenda and the proper briefing of France's representatives, though the inclusion of Georges Bidault as Foreign Minister would have partly compensated for the inexperience of the new French Premier. But those Frenchmen eager to find a way out of the impossible international position in which France has been placed feel that the opportunity offered by the new Russian policy on Germany must not be missed. They see with relief that Moscow has finally recognized that to try to use Germany as a pawn in world politics is to play with atomic fire. That recognition paves the way for a Russian-French rapprochement in the tradition of both countries. At the same time it provides France with a useful opportunity to stage a strong comeback in foreign affairs and to reestablish unity of action with Britain by supporting London's effort to bring about a four-power conference, with Germany as the main issue.

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BOOKS

Western Ways in Asia

AMERICANS AND CHINESE: TWO WAYS OF LIFE. By Francis L. K. Hsu. Henry Schuman. $6.

NORTH FROM MALAYA. By William O. Douglas. Doubleday and Company. $3.95.

By Owen Lattimore

IN ONE of these books a Chinese sociologist, now in process of becoming an American citizen, discusses the status of the individual in America and in China in relation to his family, to earning a living, to government and politics. In the other a highly individual American, now in process of becoming an outstanding authority on the politics of Asia, discusses nationalism, revolution, and the foreign policy of the United States. From very different starting points the two men converge toward agreement on an important issue of policy: they both deplore Communist rule in China but do not believe that Chiang Kai-shek can overthrow it by force. They are not, however, in fundamental philosophical accord. Mr. Hsu believes that a tendency toward totalitarianism inherent in the Western "way of life" comes to the surface in times of stress, while Justice Douglas appears to hold, but does not explicitly state, the belief that the core of the Western tradition is libertarian.

Among Chinese who have written primarily for American readers Mr. Hsu is unusual in that he is a Manchurian Chinese whose experience in America was preceded by training in Europe. American intellectual, business, and missionary influences were weaker in Manchuria than almost anywhere else in China, and we have had few Chinese from that region in America. Mr. Hsu was born in South Manchuria and went to high school in North Manchuria; so that the first foreign influences to impinge on him were Japanese and Russian rather than Western. After education in Shanghai and Peking, he studied in London, traveled in Western Europe, returned to China for the bitterest part of the war of survival against Japan, did sociological field work in the southwest corner of China farthest distant from his native Manchuria, and came to America toward the end of 1944. He therefore reached this country as a mature sociologist with an exceptionally wide knowledge of his own country and a sophisticated knowledge of the West based in the first instance on Europe rather than America. These unusual qualifications are reflected in a book which has more valuable insights on both America and China than any of its sort that I can call to mind.

MR. HSU takes the American as "individual-centered" and develops the concept of a chain of crises as the child asserts its individuality against its parents, husband and wife assert their individuality against each other, and each lonely ego tries to establish itself in terms of job, community, and attitude toward government. The Chinese he takes as "situation-centered," with a life history of successive adjustments to his family's concern in his childhood, marriage, parenthood, employment, and career. His method of comparison is at its best in bringing significant details into sharp focus, weakest when it is applied to profound historical problems. Why did China not develop, before Europe did, an industrial capitalism of its own? Why did China eventually "go Communist" in a landslide, when after a century of concentrated Western influence it had never "gone Christian," or "gone democratic," or, in fact, "gone Western" in any important way or to any depth?

It is interesting that the mere attempt to answer these larger questions forces Mr. Hsu to depart to some extent from his simple confrontation of the "individual-centered" American and the "situation-centered" Chinese. It is also interesting that his discussion does not cease to be valuable and courageously willing to face facts for which there are no easy answers.

Where Mr. Hsu tackles politics only after he has laid a sociological foundation, Justice Douglas jumps straight into the hottest politics of several different societies. In a few short years he has made himself one of the most important American voices speaking to Asia and reporting to his fellow-Americans about Asia. With no knowledge of any Asian language, he has done this by the devastatingly simple method of casting aside all pride of position and protocol, going to see things for himself, and talking with everybody about everything. Presumably he is able to check a number of interpreters against one another. Certainly there can be no challenger for his world-championship title of "V. I. P. most difficult to hoodwink." There are appalling obstacles to finding out "what's going on around here" in strange countries where official guides and interpreters hold their jobs by their adroitness in leading visiting big shots down innocuous bypaths. Justice Douglas's ability to dig up facts on the most delicate and often painful subjects, and to talk about them frankly but not offensively, commands awe as well as admiration.

IT IS NOT SURPRISING that in his quick brilliant forays Justice Douglas has fathomed some problems and sized up some countries more accurately than others. In his new book he deals with Malaya, the Philippines, Indo-China, Burma, and the Formosa-Korea complex. In Burma complete independence gave a shaky society the backbone to stand up against communism and start building what seems to be a libertarian society of its own. Burma, indeed, is a striking demonstration of the fact, which motherly mother-countries are so reluctant to admit, that the dangers of granting independence "too soon"—in other words, before they are ready to govern themselves in the way they were governed by their former rulers—are often less than the dangers of withholding independence until too late.

In the Philippines, in spite of continued victories in the field against the Communist-led Huks, the danger still

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OWEN LATTIMORE was political adviser to Chiang Kai-shek and deputy director of Pacific Information, O. W. I., during the war. He is the author of many books on the Far East.

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threatens that unless the working farmer is relieved of the double burden of economic tribute to absentee landlords who do not risk a penny of their capital to improve the land and economic wastage through corrupt government, the roots of social revolution will continue to strike deeper than those of political revolution. In Indo-China, Justice Douglas clearly sees and frankly reports that if a successful front is to be built against communism it must be based on full independence from French control.

In Formosa, he quotes an Indian opinion that "Chiang-Kai-shek is the one man in the world who really *wants* war." Even for an American as highly placed as a Supreme Court justice it requires political and moral courage merely to quote such an opinion; but today Justice Douglas could add the name of Syngman Rhee as one who really wants war and is afraid that he cannot hold his position without the sanctions of war and international support. As for Korea, Justice Douglas has less to say about that country than about any other; but he does think that if peace can be made South Korea has "survival values," and he suggests, very diplomatically, that these are to be sought more in the "fight and spirit" of the Assembly than in "some poor examples" set by Rhee.

Malaya seems to have perplexed Justice Douglas more than any other country; and small wonder, for here there is no united colonial nationalism but the divergent loyalties of Malays, Chinese, and Indians. It is in Malaya that he comes tantalizingly near to, but never quite tackles, one of the most important paradoxes of colonial nationalism—the wealthy and energetic man of business, especially the Malayan Chinese capitalist, who does not himself become wholly revolutionary but does keep in touch with and even subsidize the most fanatical Communist revolutionaries instead of striving to lay the foundations of a system of free enterprise. Yet the answer is simple. In Malaya as in Indo-China such partial liberties and franchises as have been granted since the war have been intended to mollify the colonial conservatives under the increasing pressure of the colonial radicals. This treatment inevitably breeds cynicism: the colonial conservative has no alternative to the two-faced policy of trying to avoid a complete victory of radical revolution, while trying at the same time to keep it alive and in the field, because experience has shown that unless the radicals are alive and kicking, colonial rulers make no concessions to the conservatives.

NEITHER Mr. Hsu nor Justice Douglas discusses two historical phases that are close to the heart of the problems dealt with by both of them. In the first of these phases colonial imperialism, instead of rising to a climax as required by Marxist dogma, began to lose momentum at the end of the nineteenth century. This phase was marked by the failure either to divide up China or to conquer it outright.

The second phase involves a revolution in the character of war against underdeveloped countries. People who have learned to use the tommy-gun and to make grenades and simple mortars can now hold their own indefinitely against expeditionary forces with far superior equipment. Colonial empires were cheaply conquered by small forces and were enormously profitable. They can now be held only by large forces, and the expense is exhausting. This situation is the reverse of that in the West, where we think of military strength as an emanation of industrial strength. Apart from the idealism of which Justice Douglas is a brave and inspiring example, this new situation will force us in the long run to search for political and economic methods of persuasion as alternatives to military coercion in Asia.

New Books in Brief

Carlyle to Jane

THOMAS CARLYLE: LETTERS TO HIS WIFE. Edited by Trudy Bliss. Harvard. $5.

Carlyle's biographers have always had access to the more than seven hundred letters now in the National Library of Scotland. Many of these letters, however, filling some four hundred closely printed pages in the English edition, are here published for the first time. Intimate, newsy, flavorsome, and yet less wildly extravagant in style than their author's formal compositions, they may well seem humanly interesting to many who no longer find "Sartor Resartus" or even "The French Revolution" very readable.

The period covered reaches from 1827, the year after his marriage with Jane Welsh, to May 20, 1866, the day before she died in her carriage. The earliest, therefore, are from a young man who had gone to London to get his first book published and was not being very enthusiastically received; the last are from the established Prophet whose disposition had not been improved by success and who grumbled a good deal about the invitations to great houses which he nevertheless accepted. Samuel Butler made the remark that it was very kind of God to marry Thomas Carlyle and Jane Welsh to each other, thus making two instead of four people unhappy. Taken by themselves, however, these affectionate letters do little to support the legend of the pair as tormenters of each other as well as of themselves.

Roman Art

ROMAN PAINTING. Text by Amedeo Maiuri. Skira. $15.

This latest addition to the series The Great Centuries of Painting is, with the companion volume on Etruscan Painting, which appeared last year, the most valuable. Both offer for the first time a fully representative selection of work reproduced in good color plates, of which there are eighty-four in the present volume. Both offer a fully developed text by an authoritative scholar, and in both instances the field is sufficiently unified to lend itself to a comprehensive survey. This unity is lacking, for example, in single centuries of European painting, which are always marked by strong overlays of the past alongside daring adventures into the future and by national and regional trends which differ so sharply that any survey necessarily breaks up into a catalogue of types.

Within the general framework of Roman art, however, Professor Maiuri makes clear the historical development from pre-Roman funerary traditions to the cumulative discovery of the visible world. He sets off the nobler allegorical tradition, inherited from the Hellenistic

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past, from the local and popular idioms, both in wall painting and in mosaic. He brings recently excavated work into relation with the long familiar corpus of painting in Rome, Pompeii, Herculaneum, and other centers. With great clarity he explains the various processes which Roman painters developed.

Among the merits of this volume are its usefulness as a measure of the classical inspiration of later painting and its suggestion that there is little that is new under the sun. These brilliant plates evoke suggestions of artists as varied as Raphael, Caravaggio (still lifes), Poussin, Piranesi, Magnasco, Tiepolo (caricatures), Picasso of the early 1920's, and Eugene Berman.

Farmers' Dilemma

THE ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION OF AGRICULTURE. By Theodore W. Schultz. McGraw-Hill. $5.50.

This book is a mine of factual data about American agriculture. Much more than that, it applies to its facts the cool, clear logic of economic analysis in a manner that is unusual in discussions of this subject. It concentrates upon two of the chief problems of our time—the economic future of the undeveloped areas of the world and the economic stability of agriculture. No reader can help feeling how complex these problems are and how far from solutions we remain. An illustrative dilemma must suffice here. Farmers and other Americans value the family farm. They also want protection against the vagaries of the business cycle. Mr. Schultz demonstrates that the farm capable of protecting its owners against economic vibrations must be so large as to resemble a commercial enterprise rather than the traditional family farm.

It is a pity to be forced to add that this is an unnecessarily difficult book to read, verbose in exposition and contaminated with unneeded professional jargon. It remains the very best treatment of the problems of agriculture available.

This Is the Moon

A GUIDE TO THE MOON. By Patrick Moore. Norton. $3.95.

A popular account of what is now known about the moon—essentially sober because its author is an F. R. A. S., occasionally a bit giddy in passing reference to the imminence of exploration by human visitors because he is also a Fellow of the British Interplanetary Society. Of course he may be right at that, and in any event his opinion does not adversely affect the book as a whole. Perhaps because of his special slant there is relatively little stress on the moon's motions and a great deal on its topography and other physical characteristics. Readers who like to keep up with popular science and have been told in some recent books that the "craters" are certainly meteor scars may want to know that Mr. Moore dismisses this theory as completely untenable and insists that they are the volcanic phenomena we all used to believe them. He also inclines to the view that there is a very thin atmosphere around the moon and that the topographical features are not as completely exempt from physical changes as is sometimes assumed. Very easy reading and suitable even for those who find most popular science too much for them.

Early War Correspondents

REPORTERS FOR THE UNION. By Bernard A. Weisberger. Little, Brown. $4.50.

Mr. Weisberger is perhaps guilty of cultural chauvinism in suggesting that war correspondence was an American invention, since seven years before the Civil War such notable figures as Sir William Russell and E. L. Godkin, later founder of *The Nation,* were sending the London press regular dispatches from the Crimea. However, it is true that the Civil War was the first conflict extensively reported by professionals with the aid of such new inventions as the telegraph. By December, 1862, for instance, Bennett's *Herald* had thirty reporters on various fronts and was spending $2,000 a week to obtain spot news.

At that time the distinction between news and opinion—one still more honored in theory than in practice—was largely disregarded. "A newspaper reader's view of the war," Weisberger remarks, "depended on the politics of his paper." The *Herald's* dispatches constantly glorified McClellan; those of the *Tribune* as persistently disparaged him. There are other familiar notes here about the relation of the press to the Big Brass. Generals often quarreled with reporters,

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sometimes chased them out of camp, occasionally threatened them with hanging. They also quickly learned to make use of the press to attack each other and blow their own trumpets. All this makes amusing reading, but one feels that the author has overemphasized the worst examples of wayward journalism.

Soviet Writers

MODERN RUSSIAN LITERATURE. From Chekhov to the Present. By Marc Slonim. Oxford. $6.80.

This is the second volume of Mr. Slonim's admirable survey of Russian literature from its origins to the patriotic war. The great figures of the earlier period are missing here, though Chekhov, Gorky, and Alexander Blok are among the central personages of the modern period. The book traces the glittering array of literary schools and aesthetic movements which marked the end of the century and the onset of the revolution—the modernists, the mystics, the Marxists, the Seraphim Brotherhood, the decadents, the symbolists, the acmeists. As in "The Epic of Russian Literature," there are delicate and acute profiles of the innumerable other writers who gave the epoch its diversity, violence, and color almost up to the final period of socialist realism and "proletarian hegemony" in the 1930's. The period of the revolution itself is brilliantly treated in brief compass. And what is surprising is the vitality of the Russian literary temperament under the developing dictatorship, even when the cost of expression was liquidation. Taken together, Mr. Slonim's two volumes are the best available guide to Russian literature as a whole.

The Russian Soul

THE FIDDLES OF AUTUMN. By Ilya Surguchev. *ON THE HIGHWAY.* By Anton Chekhov. Both newly translated by David A. Modell. International Press. $2.50.

Revised versions of two out-of-print translations. The very early Chekhov sketch is rather crude apprentice work; "The Fiddles of Autumn" on the other hand is the most popular play by one of the best-known members of the last pre-revolution generation. Surguchev is obviously no Tolstoy or Chekhov, but despite the fact that he is facile rather than profound and sentimental rather than tragic it is easy to see why this particular play should have run for two seasons at the Moscow Art Theater. The theme is the "dangerous age," the story a very Gallic-Russian one about a woman who hands her young lover over to her stepdaughter when she realizes that her autumn is near. If the setting were English or American it might seem forced and banal. For us it is saved from being either by the pervasive exotic atmosphere and by the glimpses it gives into the famous Russian soul. Tolstoy would have drawn a fierce moral; Chekhov would have poked sly fun at its characters. Surguchev takes them pretty much at their own valuation and is sentimental in a not unfavorable sense of the term.

Science Primer

MR. TOMPKINS LEARNS THE FACTS OF LIFE. By George Gamow. Cambridge. $2.75.

The author of this little book is professor of theoretical physics at George Washington University. Some of the subjects he undertakes to treat are among the most complicated and esoteric in modern science, including, for example, the mechanism of the gene and the meaning of negative entropy as a distinguishing characteristic of living matter. On the other hand, the "now children" method of popularization has seldom been more extravagantly developed, and Professor Gamow seems to have achieved the odd ambition of combining the fictional technique of "Peter Rabbit" with the preoccupations of the scientist at home on the border lands of the knowable. This will doubtless appeal to the taste of some, but others will be inclined to suspect that those who need to be babied so outrageously had better develop some of the characteristics of mental maturity before concerning themselves with such esoteric matters. Incidentally Professor Gamow appears to be a very thoroughgoing mechanist and a bit given to implying that his prejudices are more nearly universal among scientists than is actually the fact. Reading him one would never guess, for example, that Einstein said recently in an interview, "Physics . . . has often seduced the biologist into interpreting biological phenomena too primitively."

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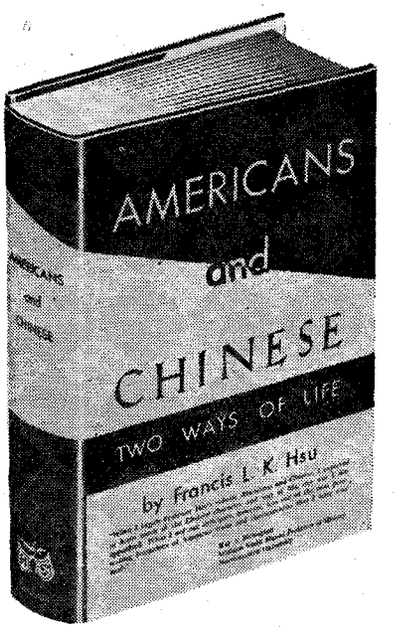

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Theater

Harold Clurman

Tel Aviv

TWO recent experiences have made me think anew about the special nature of the theater. When I saw "Peer Gynt" two weeks ago in Jerusalem it did not seem to me at all the same play I had seen on several previous occasions.

Though I flatter myself that I can differentiate more accurately than most theatergoers between the word text of a performance and its stage context, I must confess that had I written about Ibsen's play on the basis of my earlier views of it I should not have said any of the things I thought when I saw it recently. The productions were different—so the plays were different.

What, then, is a play? I am now inclined to say, though it may sound like a wilful paradox, that there is no such thing as a play apart from its specific performance before an audience. The theater is always spoken of with a certain deprecation—which I consider philosophically light-minded—as an ephemeral art. What is meant by this is that the only things that remain from a theatrical experience are a memory and a literary text. What strikes me now is that the theater is even more ephemeral than we had supposed. The play we read in the library disappears in the theater, absorbed in a context which not only transforms it but can never possibly be wholly the same on two successive occasions. And that, I believe, is an essential part of the theater's power and glamour.

The book-minded are usually horrified at such a statement. What I am talking about, they may expostulate, are a few decorations, the addition of living figures to the dramatist's writing, some paltry lights, colors, gewgaws—lamps by which we see the writer's work in what may be gayer and socially more stimulating circumstances than a reading provides. A play to such people is nothing but a text dolled up.

This does not correspond to the facts. When we see a fool play Hamlet we are that evening in the presence of a foolish play. There is little point in terms of our actual experience to say that "Hamlet" is really a great play, because what we are doing is talking of something we discovered through an experience outside the theater—which is merely supplementary information in relation to what we have directly perceived. Very few of the "classics" would seem good or even entirely intelligible to us if we came upon them as new plays.

It is certainly not Shakespeare's fault that his plays very often are turned into gibberish on the stage. It only stresses the fact that the play in the theater is what we actually behold, not what we have read or may later read. The theatrical production has its own identity, always new, and creates its own meaning with every performance.

This momentarily disquieting concept becomes sharply distinct to a critic who also happens to be a director. Some years ago I wrote what many people thought disagreeably insensitive and impudent remarks about Shaw's "Caesar and Cleopatra." (It is beside the point at the moment that Shaw some time after writing the play said things about it that showed he did not hold it in the same high esteem that most American reviewers do.) What I cannot avoid remarking is that whatever my feelings about the three productions of the play I have seen or about Shaw's script per se, I am now directing the play enthusiastically.

The question suggests itself: why should the critic's point of view be different from that of the director's, particularly when they are the same person? The reason is that the critic speaks only of what he sees on a particular occasion or what he judges the worth of the play text might be if he could possibly contemplate it apart from its production, or what he thought when he read it. The director sees the play script not as a piece of writing with a fixed value but as a *potential*.

The director asks: What can be pleasurable or important in the production of this text for the particular audience to whom I plan to present it? Some texts make better plays in one country than in another; often a text dies as a play in one house and lives in another. What actor, actress, or company will play this text? Have we not seen the life of a play alter through the acting of certain parts by equally talented but differently disposed artists? We have seen texts which might be described as trash from a literary standpoint become

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truly creative on the stage through the embodiment given them by extraordinarily talented actors or by a director. We remember texts becoming inept plays in the theater through a so-called excellent (actually ruinous) set. We recall texts which failed to make an impression not because of intrinsic defects but because they did not suit the temper of the time chosen for their presentation.

For the theater, the fine play on the shelf is only a promise and a hope. What makes a viable stage play is a most complex and miraculous set of circumstances toward which the director advances as to a calculated risk. It is, I repeat, part of the theater's glory—as it is its very soul—that its delight, inspiration, aesthetic and cultural validity depend on a mysteriously fragile and happy concordance of elements.

Records

B. H. Haggin

CONTINUING its reissues of Weingartner recordings, Columbia gives us a coupling of two of his finest performances—of Handel's Concerti Grossi Op. 6 Nos. 5 and 6. Unfortunately the sound varies with the condition of the 78s used in the dubbing: the first two movements of No. 5 are full and bright, the rest thin, wooden, and noisy; the first movement of No. 6 is muffled, the rest brighter, but with a pronounced surface hiss. The orchestra is the excellent pre-war London Philharmonic.

Another record offers a group of Weingartner's recordings of Wagner. A buoyant performance of the "Siegfried-Idyll" with the London Philharmonic and a fine performance of the wonderful Introduction to Act 3 of "Tristan und Isolde" with the Paris Conservatory Concerts Orchestra are well reproduced; but the Rhine Journey and Funeral Music from "Die Götterdämmerung" are conducted ineffectively by Weingartner, played poorly by the orchestra, and reproduced badly by the record. The Introduction to Act 3 of "Tannhäuser" also is on the record.

In addition Columbia gives us a coupling of the old Beecham-London Philharmonic performances of Mozart's Symphonies in E flat (K.543) and G minor (K. 550). I once thought the performance of the G minor good, but came to dislike the chirpy phrasing—notably of the impassioned opening statement; and I prefer Mozart's revised version with clarinets to the earlier one without them that Beecham plays. The performance of the E flat is a product of the Beecham powers at their height. As for recorded sound, the E flat requires drastic cutting down of bass, and loses brightness at times; and the G minor is quite poor.

Tchaikovsky not only completed the Overture-Fantasia "Romeo and Juliet" but wrote an uncompleted duet for tenor and soprano in which he used some of the thematic material of the instrumental piece. As completed by Taneiev it is sung well in French by Raymond Manton and Jean Fenn with the Los Angeles Orchestral Society under Franz Waxman, and turns out to be an effective bit of writing in Tchaikovsky's operatic style. Mr. Waxman sees fit to give it to us with its introduction further, and superfluously, introduced by the opening section of the Overture-Fantasia; and the duet from Gounod's "Romeo and Juliet" is on the reverse side (Capitol).

C. B. S.'s summer replacement for the New York Philharmonic on Sunday afternoons this year is portions of the European and American music festivals; and the June 7 broadcast was concerned with the recent festival in Florence. The production there of Prokofiev's opera "War and Peace" was pronounced by C. B. S.'s James Fassett an outstanding event of the century; and you would expect him to use the entire hour and a half to give as much as possible of this outstanding event that American music-lovers were intensely interested in, and none of the time for still another performance of Menotti's "Amahl" or Rachmaninov's "Vocalise." But it was "Amahl" and the songs—interspersed

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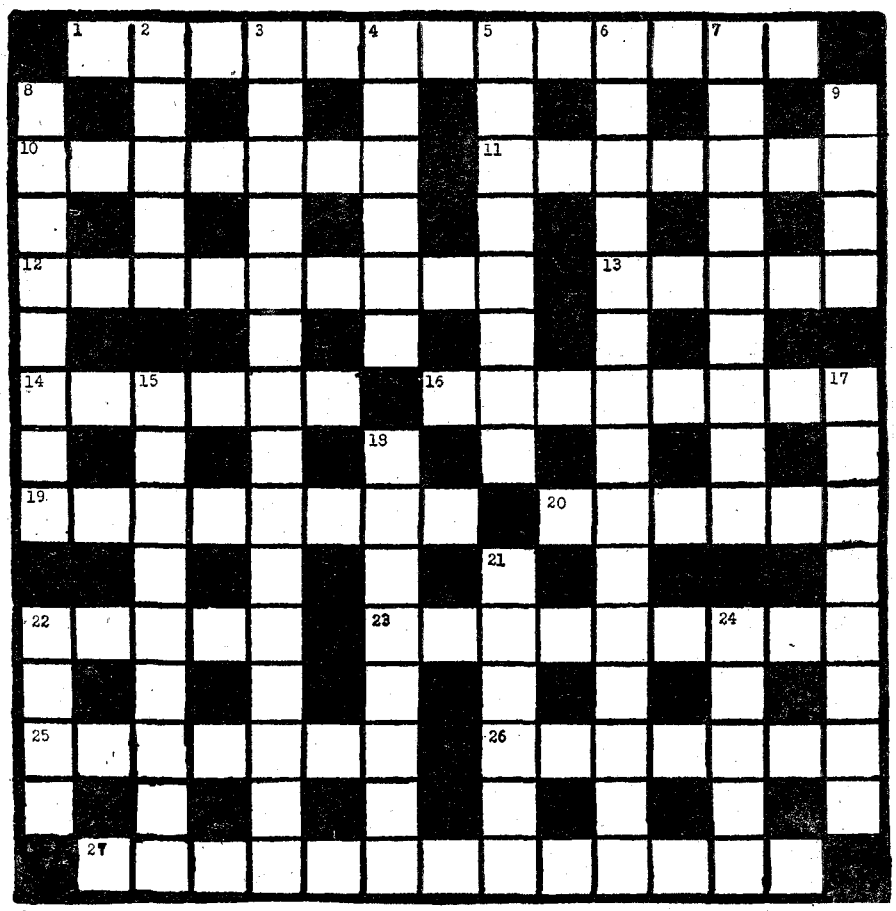
Crossword Puzzle No. 523

BY FRANK W LEWIS



ACROSS

1 Horse trade, for example? (It's a commonplace swap!) (5, 8)
10 Rubber man? (7)
11 Water buffalo that vaguely suggests a reindeer? (7)
12 They're intellectual, if blue. (9)
13 More like a day in June—yet more raw than a day in January? (5)
14 See 9 down.
16 More like a boat—but harder to see through? (8)
19 Creaming mixture. (8)
20 Approachability. (6)
22 You might make a Greek letter thus, in Latin. (5)
23 Does it make a Japanese respectable? (9)
25 Compliment which reputedly wasn't worth a cent. (7)
26 Relatively spare when it makes a coat less heavy. (7)
27 Divide and divide up—the whole darn thing! (4, 3, 6)

DOWN

2 The poet seems to have sat up in the manner indicated. (5)
3 An auditor might be, but a big one should imply a good draft. (8, 7)
4 Implying a ringer wouldn't be the perfect answer! (6)
5 Not a hen, for certain! (8)
6 Implying art separates the bearing from the bearer. (8, 7)
7 Bargained for a material change. (9)
8 What makes the wort in bad gins? (8)
9 and 14 across. If aces, they're hard to beat, but can be tied. (4–2–4)
15 You might find him so entangled in a hair-do, what was dropped here won't be easily forgotten. (9)
17 Go to sleep, Father! (4, 4)
18 (18)
21 On your foot—and the right one at the right one. (6)
22 Counterpart of a beverage. (4)
24 Use foil as a barrier. (5)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 522

ACROSS:—1 BASSO PROFUNDO; 9 ADOWA; 10 BRAKEBAND; 11 KREMLIN; 12 TALLIER; 13 MEETS; 14 REST STOPS; 16 TEST CASES; 18 PALAU; 19 SHEARER; 21 POLLACK; 22 ODD MAN OUT; 23 TANGO; 24 WATER MOCCASIN.

DOWN —1 BLACKSMITH SHOP; 2 SMOKELESS; 3 ORACLES; 4 ROBIN; 5 FLAUTISTS; 6 NEEDLES; 7 OKAPI; 8 ADDRESS UNKNOWN; 14 RESERVOIR; 15 OIL PAINTS; 17 CURRANT; 18 POLITIC; 20 ENDOW; 21 PATIO.

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with liberal quantities of Mr. Fassett himself and an interview with Menotti —that got most of the time, leaving about twenty-five minutes for three meager excerpts from Prokofiev's huge work. Mr. Fassett kept impressing on us the fact that the excerpts had been recorded for us at a rehearsal, and they may have been all that was rehearsed that day; but you would think that for an outstanding event of the century he would have stayed for the performance.

Nor was Mr. Fassett's own inept performance his first in my experience. I recall among others an occasion a few years ago when he had just begun to put on his little personal show in these broadcasts—when the program included a medley from "Oklahoma" and his intermission guest was Richard Rodgers. Mr. Fassett supposed that some would question the inclusion of this music on the program; but as supervisor of C. B. S. programs of serious music he considered the term "serious" meaningless unless it included "Oklahoma" and "Yankee Doodle." With this contention he was striking an attitude—showing he was no snob. But actually he was demonstrating his unawareness of what it isn't snobbery to be aware of: that a Picasso "Guernica" postscript is different from a Peter Arno cartoon; that each has its own quality, its own value, its own perfection; and that one wouldn't put them in a show together. Amusingly enough, only a few minutes after he had proclaimed himself no snob Mr. Fassett referred commiseratingly to what happened to Mr. Rodgers's tunes as they were whistled by every delivery boy. And one's heart warmed to Mr. Rodgers when he said soberly: "There's no better sound to a composer's ear than a delivery boy whistling his tune."

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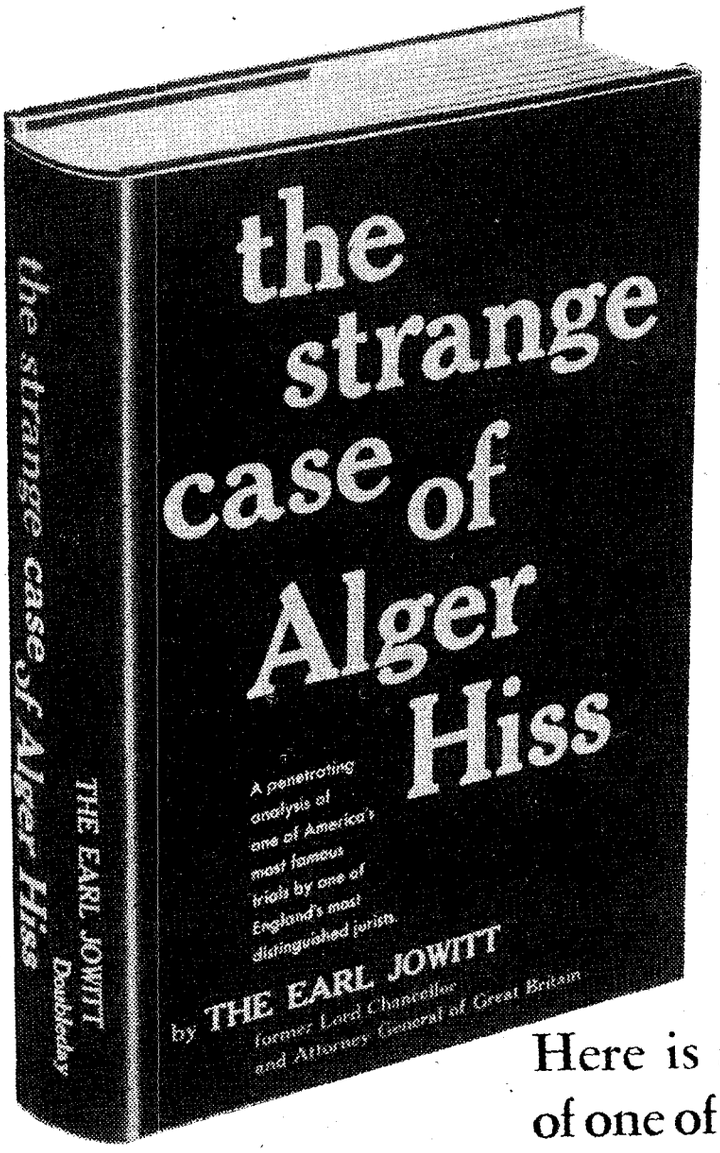
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